1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 ceremonial contest between warriors of two tribes or groups of tribes, in order that prisoners might be taken for sacrifice without the economic dislocation of formal war. This practice was known long before in the Valley, the Tenochcas participating in such struggles with the Chalcas in 1376–84, but the Tenochcas had been so continuously at war that they were accustomed to take their prisoners the hard way.[6]

175 The crops failed from 1451–56, owing to severe storms
●731 and frost. Many people died, and others, unable to support themselves, adopted voluntary slavery in order to share the bounty of the more fortunate. Usually a famine led to increased military activity to replenish the empty larders with supplies exacted as tribute. But in this case the situation was so severe and the Tenochcas so weak that they had to be content with a War of Flowers.

175 Axayacatl* succeeded his father Montezuma I in 1469. He extended Tenochcan domination over a still-wider area, spreading west into the Matlatzinca country and south to Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. He conducted a campaign into the Tarascan territory and met with a dreadful defeat which ensured the independence of these tribes of Michoacan up to their conquest by the Spaniards. This was the only serious Tenochcan military disaster until the grim days of 1519.[7]

Neither Axayacatl nor his successors were able to transform domination of a region into dominion. He did succeed, nevertheless, in reducing the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, killing its chief and denying its council the right to meet with the Tenochcas in matters of tribal importance. Tlaltelolco up to that time had maintained its independence

*Ash-ay-a'h-catl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[13]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[14]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Ciuatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in izquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In iehoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia.

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, iehoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia.

Auh inic naui, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: iehoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj.

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conaxitia, quitzonquistia nauhteistin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: iehoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech ontzopi, itech ontlatzotzona, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ie ocaxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicaz, tlaotlatoctiz: cenca

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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and set it upon its way, all were much frightened and there was apprehension; all were filled with dread because in this [year] occurred the famine called Necetochuiliztli. All were exceedingly terrified and in awe when [the year] One Rabbit came—when they reached and came to it; though not [when it was] Two or Three [Rabbit]. Etc.

nemauhtiloia, tlatẽmachoia, netẽmachoa: ipampa, in ipan muchioaia maianaliztli, motenecoa necetochuiliztli: Çaniio uellamauhtiaia, uel imacaxoia: in icoac on omoquetz ce tochtli, in onoitech axioac, onoiterh onpachiooac: amono ie in ome, anoço ey. etc.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Nететochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Callixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cozcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipā nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in iehoatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec cozcaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenāco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Thillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollonco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacā ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui aujtzutl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaioatimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemozque in tzitzimime, tequazque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. *Ixoma in coioacā.* The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *ỹ mani ixc ixoma.*

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztec tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichiualtatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh mala- 175
nalistli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian
tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in [731]
maianaliztica.

Çā no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali
catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael- [787]
napaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia,
atlā tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachizti in
Españoles.

Çā no iehoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca
ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho..ia qujtoaia.
Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolizttli, njman motocac 787
yitoaico ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac
in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in
vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic
motemanca vēca veuetzito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in
oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in
motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca
inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie itqujch ca
tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca
tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aqujque
in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, iehoantin
onozque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie
no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh icon-
euh oquichtli:

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlaoacā, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan,
cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan.

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciqujui españoles motzaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tomaoac in tlanextli iuhqujn
tlemjiaoatl iceoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa
oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh,

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicar es cegando tener. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has oni panoli. Nopanoli is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

175 646 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac poliuh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjentos y dezinueue.

175 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

●731 646 Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jxaiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ca muchi atlan qujmontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijxtque mjmjcque.

175 646 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles qujpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlàtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujtecaoaltico tlateotoquiliztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoquiliztli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in ichoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ca muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ca ixe yc.*
6. *Iepan: ye ixquen in ihid.*

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego teuetzqujti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl; ipan mochiuh inic momañaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacacpa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apizmjcoac cenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, peoaloque chichimeca, xochipilteca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the
648 City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçiqueᵐ compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vẽca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three yéars in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Ciuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden
[231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Martin hẽca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: eziujtl ie impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcapotzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Juan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauic onoc, ic nauj latocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamauiçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth; and he ruled
[731] Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cíbola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan iancujc españa

Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh
[731] to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in iehoatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For *manca no manca*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *manca no nonqua*.
2. In *ibid.*, *xochipiltecs*, *yoan tenoslan tlaca*, *yoan* follows *nochtlan tlaca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctèzuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quimacaque in jxquich in jntetlapaloaia, inin tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in iehoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjqujto in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipaccanamjquito: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxquichtin españoles.

Auh in jquezquilhujioc, in iehoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in iehoatl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinuicac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro alvarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in iehoatl don pº aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhujquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in oalmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequintin, quinoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototzaia in iaujutl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in iehoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocolíztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequintin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica quinjauchiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiutl

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen sãct francisco padreme, in quintlaneltoquitique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlixa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncā tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjlia. 692

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachoxque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oniujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc macoxque, injc cuepililoxque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioñ oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: *"Este nombre, tlácatl, quiere decir, persona noble, 'persona o magnífica. . . . Y los compuestos de tlácatl que se componen con nombres numerales, significan personas grandes, como diciendo de tlácatl, una persona hombre,..o mujer."* Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the bar."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far ● [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac mȧ qujtlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, iteioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nex ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujca in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in ixqujch calquavitl: njman ie ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilon, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevizneçuja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

Injc ce[ntl] tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzũmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietsietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jqujçaianpa, iuhquj in tlesuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oittoc cẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ōmoman.

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotinemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

4. Probably Itepeyoc is meant for *itoioc*. See Chapter 19 of this book; also *Memorials en 3 columnes*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *ioioc* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *ynic ȳ calquiya*.

6. *Ce çan* appears in *loc. cit.*

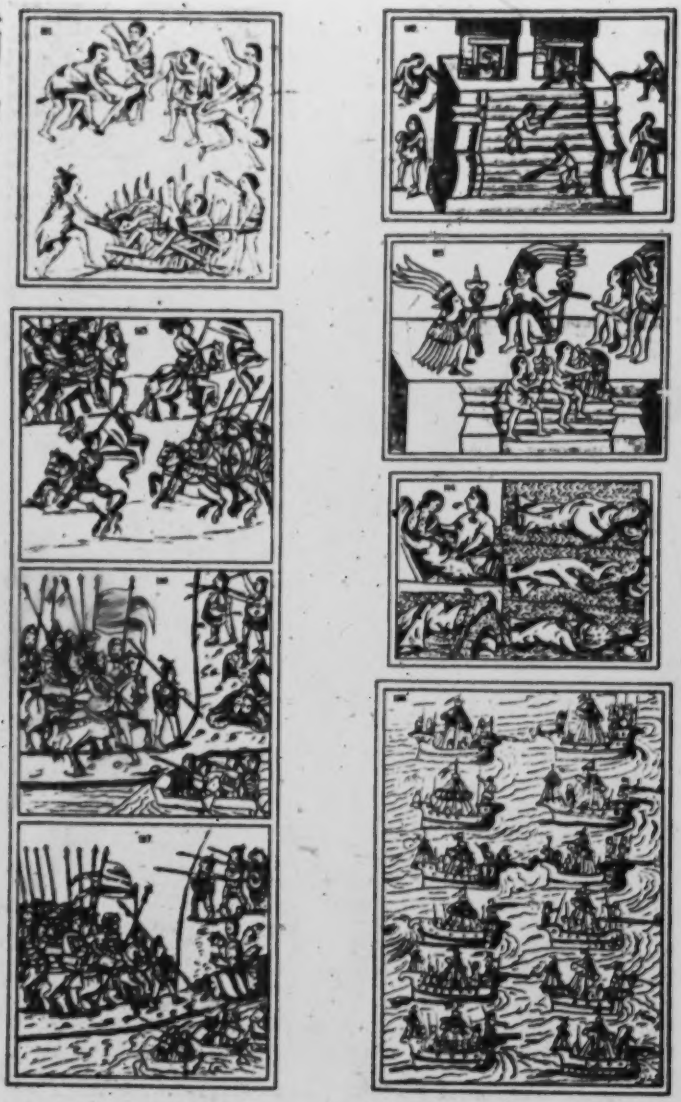
7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: "*auh ȳ calli mixiuinda cujc ẏhuh ẏnyc papachiuh ẏcqui xixitin.*"

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by "*ẏhuh ẏnic mouetzq ẏnic cenouh ẏn no ẏeuqui ye ȳ ẏeuqui oalnalo ȳ ẏeuq oalpa.*"

-2-

532
[346]
[766]



[731]

—*Ajtor Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44(2)]

Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here is related how the plague[1] came, named smallpox, of which the natives died, when the Spaniards set forth from Mexico.

And [even] before the Spaniards had risen against us, a pestilence first came to be prevalent: the smallpox. It was [the month of] Tepeilhuitl when it began, and it spread over the people as great destruction. Some it quite covered [with pustules] on all parts—their faces, their heads, their breasts, etc. There was great havoc. Very many died of it. They could not walk; they only lay in their resting places and beds. They could not move; they could not stir; they could not change position, nor lie on one side, nor face down, nor on their backs. And if they stirred, much did they cry out. Great was its destruction. Covered, mantled with pustules, very many people died of them. And very many starved; there was death from hunger, [for] none could take care of [the sick]; nothing could be done for them.

And on some the pustules were widely separated; they suffered not greatly, neither did many [of them] die. Yet many people were marred by them on their faces; one's face or nose was pitted. Some lost their eyes; they were blinded.

At this time, this pestilence prevailed sixty days, sixty day signs. When it left, when it abated, when there was recovery and the return of life, the plague had already moved toward[2] Chalco, whereby many were disabled—not, however, completely crippled. When it came to be prevalent, [it was the month of] Teotl eco. And when it went, weakened, it was Panquetzaliztli. Then the Mexicans, the chieftains, could revive.

And after this, then the Spaniards came; they marched from Texcoco. By way of Quauhtitlan they set out, and quartered themselves at Tlacopan. There then the task was divided; their routes were there separated. Pedro de Alvarado's charge became the road leading into Tlatilulco. And the Marquis went

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn valla Totomonjztli, injc mjcque nicā tlaca: in jtoca vei çavatl, in jquac oquizque Españoles in Mexico. 731

Auh in aiamo totechmoquetza in Españoles: achtopa momanaco vei cocoliztli, totomonaliztli, ipan tepeilhujtl in tzintic, in tetechmotecac vevei tepopul: cequj vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan, &c. vellaixpolo, vel mjequjntin ic mjcque, aoc vel nenemja, ça onoc in jmononan in incuchian, aoc vel molinjaia, aoc vel mocuechinjaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzoaia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mjxtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in jquac mocuechinjaia, cenca tzatzia: cenca tlaixpolo, in pepechtic, in pepechiuhquj in çoatl, vel mjec tlacatl, ic momjqujli, yoā mjequjntin çan apizmjcque, àpizmjcoac, aocac motecujtlaviaia, aocac teca muchivaia.

Auh in cequjntin çan veveca in intech motlali in çavatl, amo cenca qujmjhioti, amo no mjequjntin ic mjcque: yoā mjec tlacatl ic itlacauh in jxaiac, ichachaquachiuhque, iacachachaquachiuhque, cequjtin yixcueponque, ixpopoiotque:

iquac in manca inin totomonjliztli, vel epoalilhujtl, epoaltonal in qujz in cuetlan, in neemachoc, in iolioac: ie chalcopa vatztia in totomonjliztli, yoā mjec injc cocototzauh: amo tel iccen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanjto ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncan vel caxavaque in Mexica, in tiacacan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie vitze, valolinj in Españoles in vmpa Tetzcoco: quauhtitlampa in quiçato onmotlalico Tlacuban: nec vncan motequjmaca, vncā mocelon: in Pedro de Aluarado, itequjppā mochiuh in vtli vallaticac tlatilulco. Auh in Marques coioacan motlalito: auh itequjuh mochiuh in mar-

1. Corresponding Spanish term: *pestilencia*. Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 531) has *viruelas* for this term, and "great evil" *for mal grande*. Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 192, n. 3, has *viruelas* for *totomonaliztli*.—The term is quite commonly used in the Codex.

2. Probably *either southeast or eastward* should be read.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advantage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure.—Analyst]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

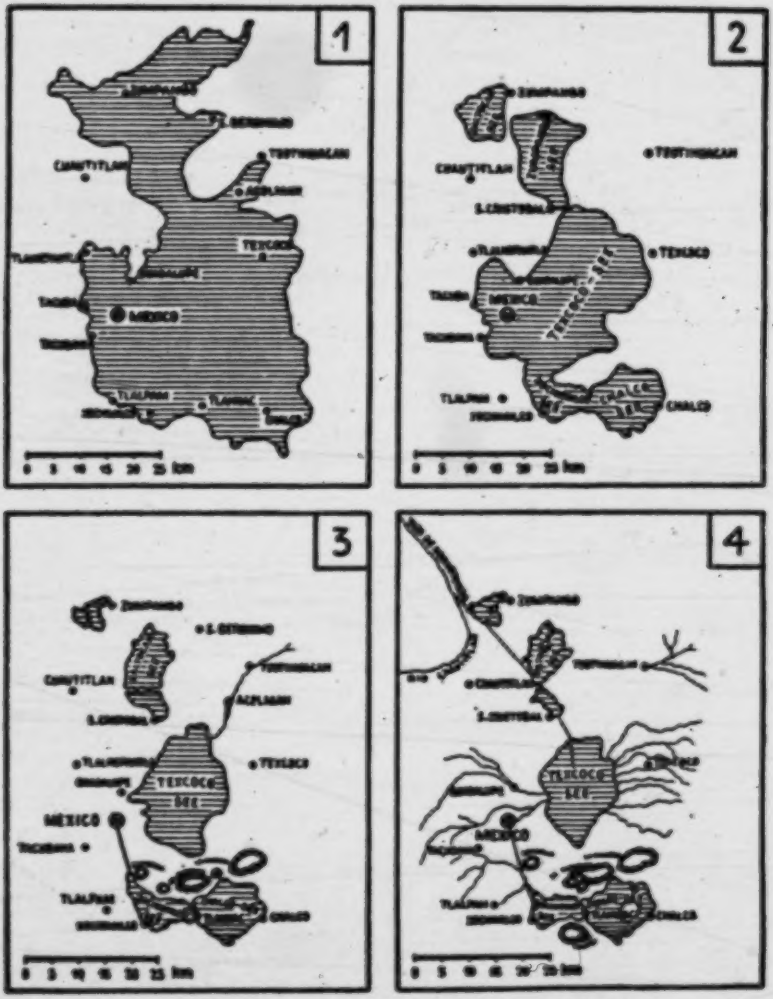


Fig. 1. Sketch maps of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, (1) during the Ice Age, (2) at the beginning of the 16th century, (3) at the beginning of the 19th century, (4) in 1889. Reproduced from Schilling (1939).

the salt lake from the streams on the eastern side of the Valley, were described by Motolinía in 1540 (Steck edition 1951, p. 263). That seiches also occurred may be inferred from Cortés' reference to "tides" (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 256). Moreover, Sahagún records in Book Eight a tradition, regarded later as an omen of the coming of the Spaniards, to the effect that "the water of the lake foamed up, and

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the
133 lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to
●731 be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question
312 that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of
127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
● [731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 483, 484, and 485) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 304).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454, In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 203) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 235) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 269), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 263): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 158) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

732

732 DEFECTIVES--incidence of serious physical defects (e.g., blindness, deaf-mutism, crippling infirmities and deformities, feeblemindedness); interpretation of deformities and defects; care and treatment of defectives (e.g., neglect, persecution, euthanasia, home care, charity, institutionalization); organization, operation, and financial support of special institutions for defectives; adjustments to defects (e.g., seeing-eye dogs, prosthetic devices, hearing aids); sterilization of defectives; etc. See also:

Incidence of insanity 158
Sign language 201
Guardianship 429
Aids to locomotion 481
Care of war veterans 739
Begging 736
Care of the insane 758
Interpretations of physical abnormalities . . . 926
Infanticide 947
Care of aged 737, 888

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

175
787

Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjiecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanezzolti, ontetzontecomeque, ça ce in jntlac vnpa qujmonujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa [732] qujmjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman poliujia.

[p.20 is blank]

524 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
● [732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aqujn patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic teequechili, in moquetztıcaz etl, in vmpa ic tiiinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan motaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aqujlli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

Tlatlacaloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolonatlatl mjmjltic injc mopétlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

motochimjltia, motochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

vncatca intetlaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelquixtiaia, in qujcecemeltiá: ioan quaujlacatzoque in qujpaquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlámati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quanmjmjlli in quitotia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoutl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

mjiec tlamãtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, itoloan in quinujcatinenca in quimehellelquixtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, quinpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cuicuitlachtin, ococtochtin, nepapan tototl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* M3 reads quinhuicaoa (he vanquished) instead of quinhuiçaoa.

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tezpocalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cxxtolli oce capítulo, vncan mjtoa, injc mo-ichecoaia çioa. 286 462

Neanonj, mecamaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatanatli, iujtanatlj, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vitztli injc qujuitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in qujmjzcaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzotme çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc melelqujxtia. 462 732 534 522

[1] Tlauilquamiyi: Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 222) describes the term as "*Tecuyayo, y tienen los entre negros que parecen pintores sobre el lienço: es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen tapaçonerías, sombreles y alhombras. . . .*" One is pictured in Tozzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. 48.

[p. 50 is blank]

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. Arid Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though massed, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came massed?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, campa na- 787
mechnovisquiliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centetl cacique tototl- nextic, iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl: njmā quittitito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: ommotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhqujn xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca qujmotetzavi in jquac qujmjttac cicitlaltin, yoā mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototl, ene qujttac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moiaochichiuhtivitze, qujnmama mamaça. Auh njman qujnnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: qujmjlhuj: Amo anqujmati in tlein onoconjttac, iuhqujn acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie qujnanqujlixquja, in conjttaque, opoliuh, aoc tle qujtoque.

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenextiliaia, tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa qujmōvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oqujmjttac njmā polivia.

10. Cf. *loc. cit.*, where *yā yoā tiui* appears.

11. In Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 10, this is explained: *"la llamaron á presencia de Moctheuzoma, el cual por entonces estaba en otro palacio que le llamaban Tillancalmecatlo (quiere decir, palacios antiguos de negro) y porque que como tenia otros palacios para alegrarse, recreorse edificados, este Tillancalmecatlo tenia para recogerse en el tiempo de adversidad y tristeza."*

12. *A durchlöcherl* (instrument for sawing), attribute of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 4).

13. In the *Real Palacio* MS, a similar phrase is written: *"Zoc çi'mitac, yoāq'n acame mocopeuhtivitze."* On *mocopeuhtivitze*, see Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880) — *quepeuhtia*. In corresponding Spanish passages, Sahagún translates as *"muchedumbre de gente junta"* or *"muncha gente junta."*

14. *Tlamātinjme*: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Teotlalpouiani de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. *Amoiliqui* is favored as translation: *"Le vale cinla, parece demasiar fantasmas maravilgiosos."*

15. In the *Real Palacio* MS, following *opoliuh*, we read: *"auc tle xol q'inqā. ac oppa q'mōlloni ỹ tlacuhque in tlamatinjme, tle ynin tonal quilhuiqu cenca nel yehuatl yn quatecuxtl."* (In the original, the abbreviation for *-que* resembles *-qz*; hence it is thus reproduced here.)

[p. 4 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female